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Abstract

The importance of gender to the writing of the history of modern Japan is now well established. We can trace a shift from 'women's history', which was largely focused on making women visible in the historical narrative, to 'gender history'. The field of gender history deploys 'gender' as a major conceptual tool of analysis; considers both men's and women's experiences; and interrogates both masculinity and femininity (Scott 1988: 42; Molony and Uno 2005: 1–35). There is a long tradition of the writing of women's history in the Japanese language and we now have a significant body of scholarship in the English language, too, starting in the 1970s, and increasing in recent years.¹ The concept of 'gender' (*jendā*) has gradually become mainstreamed, in both popular and academic discourse in Japan, and in English-language writings on modern Japanese history.

Keywords

japanese, genders, sexualities, modern, bodies, history

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Genders, Sexualities and Bodies in Modern Japanese History

Vera Mackie

Introduction

The importance of gender to the writing of the history of modern Japan is now well-established. We can trace a shift from 'women's history', which was largely focused on making women visible in the historical narrative, to 'gender history'. The field of gender history deploys 'gender' as a major conceptual tool of analysis; considers both men's and women's experiences; and interrogates both masculinity and femininity (Scott 1988: 42; Molony and Uno 2005: 1–35). There is a long tradition of the writing of women's history in the Japanese language and we now have a significant body of scholarship in the English language, too, starting in the 1970s, and increasing in recent years.¹ The concept of 'gender' (*jendā*) has gradually become mainstreamed, in

¹ For surveys of the field, see: Mackie (2005a; 2013a; 2013b; 2013c; 2015); Hayakawa (1991: 171–9); Fujimura-Fanselow and Kameda (1995); Tonomura, Walthall and Wakita (1999); Wakita (2006); Ueno (2003; 2009); Daniels and Tomida (2005); Itō (2005: 145–52); Taga (2005: 153–67) Fujimura-Fanselow (2011) Mackie and McLelland (2015). Parts of this essay draw on Mackie (2005a; 2013a; 2013b; 2013c; 2015), but the content has been substantially revised, updated and expanded.

both popular and academic discourse in Japan, and in English-language writings on modern Japanese history.

Recent theoretical perspectives thus interrogate both femininity and masculinity and look at their dynamic interaction; consider non-binary gender identities; consider sexuality alongside gender, caste, class, ethnicity, ability/disability and other dimensions of difference; look at both normative and variant sexualities; and consider the embodied dimensions of human experience.

Gender and Modernity

The social and cultural category of gender is a product of modernity, as the status-based relationships and structures of feudalism are replaced with a society structured according to relationships of class and gender. Modernity is a set of economic and social conditions including ‘capitalism, bureaucracy, technological development’ accompanied by specific ‘experiences of temporality and historical consciousness’ (Felski 1995: 13). In Japan, modernity was defined against the past of a feudal economy, hierarchical status relationships, and the military rule of the shoguns. In just a few decades, Japan undertook a modernization process of transformation from feudalism to capitalism involving ‘scientific and technological innovation, the industrialization of production, rapid urbanization, an ever-expanding capitalist market [and] the development of the nation-state’ (Felski 1995: 13).

In the Japanese case, the understanding of modernity and modernization was overlaid with theories of cultural difference. Japan, like other Asian countries, was the subject of Orientalist projections of an essential difference from European forms of modernity

(Said 1978). Japanese intellectuals resisted these projections of their own country, but also developed hierarchical ideas about Japan's own difference from neighbouring Asian countries (Tanaka 1993).

To borrow Tani E. Barlow's terminology, modernity is necessarily understood as 'colonial modernity' (1997: 1–20). Recent scholarship extends beyond the borders of the Japanese nation-state: to the peripheries, the treaty ports, the colonies and the battlefields. The history of colonial modernity includes the Ryukyuans/Okinawans in the South and the indigenous Ainu in the North who were incorporated into the Japanese nation-state in the late nineteenth century. It includes colonial subjects in Korea, Taiwan, the Pacific and metropolitan Japan, settlers and subjects in the puppet-state of Manchukuo from 1932, the ways in which culture and society in the Japanese metropolis were shaped by the concerns of colonialism and imperialism, and their legacies in contemporary society (on colonialism, imperialism and migration, see Wilson and Cribb, McCormack and Dusinberre in this volume).

According to modernization theory, societies can be categorized according to a linear progression from pre-modern to modern, with the ultimate destination being the modern liberal capitalist democracy (for a critique of modernization theory and Cold War influences on scholarship on Japan, see Dower 1975: 3–108). Marxist thought posits a similar linear trajectory, but with capitalist liberal democracy seen as a stage in the progress towards socialism, rather than as an endpoint. Such linear views of history have been challenged in different ways by writers informed by postmodern critiques and by theories of postcoloniality and colonial modernity (Chakrabarty 2000). According to these theorists, such binary oppositions as modern/premodern, modern/traditional, developed/underdeveloped are built into the very structures of

modernity. The modern society and its pre-modern 'other' in fact inhabit the same structured temporality.

Japanese history can be divided up according to imperial reigns: Meiji (1868–1912), Taishō (1912–26), Shōwa (1926–89) and Heisei (1989–). Many contemporary leftist, feminist and anti-monarchist writers, however, prefer to avoid the use of these imperial reign names in their descriptions of modern Japanese history. Or, one might divide historical periods according to political regimes: early modern/feudal Japan, Imperial Japan (1890–1945), wartime Japan and postwar Japan. Imperial Japan refers to the period of Japanese history when the country was governed by the Constitution of Imperial Japan (the Meiji Constitution) and the corresponding legal codes. The Meiji Constitution and legal codes were overhauled at the end of the Second World War. Although 1947 was the important year for the revision of the legal codes and the Constitution, a clear break was provided by the end of the Second World War in 1945.

For a gendered history of modern Japan, we might posit some different turning points. For men, we could track the implementation of military conscription in 1873, the introduction of the property-based franchise of 1890, the extension of the franchise to all adult males (including colonial subjects in the metropolis) in 1925, the military campaigns carried out from 1895 to 1945, and the subsequent repatriation from the colonies and battlefields. For women, the important dates might be 1890, when the Law on Political Assembly and Association prevented them from attending or speaking at public meetings or joining political associations; 1922, when restrictions on women's attending political meetings were removed; and 1945, when the franchise was extended to women. For reproductive control, one could track the state regulation

of abortion and sterilization, from the earliest regulations in the 1870s, through the National Eugenics Law of 1937, the Eugenic Protection Act of 1947, and the Law for the Protection of the Maternal Body from 1996. More recently, we could consider how governments have dealt with the issue of assisted reproduction (Mackie 2013: 1–18; 2014a: 203–220).

As for gender relations in the family, the new Civil Code of 1947 amended the Meiji Civil Code of 1898 and transformed the family from a hierarchical institution based on patriarchy and primogeniture to a relatively egalitarian institution based on equality between husband and wife and equality between male and female siblings (Mackie 2009a: 139–64).

For the history of sexualities, we could trace particular turning points in the state management of sexuality, which took different forms under the Meiji Civil code and the revised Civil Code of 1947. This could include the privileging of the heteronormative family, the state management of prostitution, the criminalization of particular sexual practices, the censorship of certain cultural representations of sexuality. We could also look at changing sexual subcultures over time (Aoyama 2015: 281–93; Galbraith 2015: 205–17; Maree 2015: 230–43; McLelland 2015a: 402–13; 2015b: 246–67; Mackie and Tanji 2015: 60–73; Suganuma 2015: 244–54; Shigematsu 2015: 174–87).

For colonial subjects, there would be different turning points. We could track the incorporation of the Ryukyu islands (present-day Okinawa) and the northern territory of Ezo (present-day Hokkaido) in the 1870s, the annexation of Taiwan in 1895, Korea in 1910 and Pacific territories after 1918, the policies of imperial subjectification (*kōminka*) and assimilation, the inclusion of colonial subjects in total national

mobilization, labour mobilization and enforced labour, and the revocation of imperial subjecthood for Koreans and Taiwanese between 1945 and 1952. The Great Kantō Earthquake of 1923 prompted the rebuilding of the physical infrastructure of Tokyo and resulted in a quickening of various social changes in a manner which cannot easily be encapsulated in the conventional chronologies which depend on imperial era names and turning points marked by military conflicts.

Gendering the Nation-State

Between the 1850s and 1890s the Japanese nation-state was in a state of flux as it responded to pressure from the US and other powers to open up the country to international trade. Unequal treaties were concluded with the US, Britain and major European powers in the 1850s, and renegotiated around the turn of the twentieth century. Japan, in turn, imposed an unequal treaty on Korea in 1876. The feudal rule of the shoguns was overturned in 1868. By 1890, the country had established a compulsory education system, a new industrial system, a modern army and navy, and a form of constitutional government with the Emperor at its peak. The years from the 1850s to the 1890s were the years when a new relationship between individual and state was being forged, and this was based on a gendered form of subjecthood, whereby men and women each had distinctive relationships to the state.

Marnie Anderson (2010; 2011: 38–55) traces the exclusion of women from the political sphere in these years, and argues that public space was thus constituted as a gendered space. Although women were excluded from parliamentary politics, they still found ways to be politically active. They wrote articles on political topics and petitioned the government on issues which concerned them. Mara Patessio undertakes

a group biography of activist women in the period from the 1860s to the 1880s, tracing the actions and connections between groups of women who aspired to citizenship and claimed a place in the emerging public sphere (Patessio 2004: 2006: 155–82; 2011).

Others have been interested in the ways in which women used public space for charitable purposes and in activities which supported nationalist concerns. The Japan chapter of the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) is perhaps the country's oldest women's organization: established in 1886 and still active. Elizabeth Dorn Lublin surveys the early history of the group, from 1886 to 1912. She emphasizes that political organizations, political meetings and voting are not the only ways for women to engage in politics; and explores 'the many other ways in which women attempted to advance their rights, assert themselves politically, and construct roles for themselves' (2010: 6; see also Yasutake 2004 and Tyrrell 1991). Members of the WCTU 'contributed to the construction of the public sphere, advanced the feminist and reform movements, and helped shape the nature of citizenship' (2010: 176). While the WCTU members largely worked within the nationalist and imperialist paradigm of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, they tried to expand the possibilities for women to be active within that framework, and provided a critique of the behaviour of their male compatriots. We still await, though, a full English-language history of the mass women's nationalist organizations which operated from the 1900s to the period of total national mobilization of the 1940s (see, however, Havens 1975: 913–934; Garon 1993a: 5–41; Wilson 1995: 295–314; Morita 2005: 49–70).

To say that political space is gendered space is also to consider the workings of masculinity. Much of mainstream history has been about men's activities in the public sphere but, until recently, without explicitly discussing this in terms of masculinity. Nevertheless, we have many studies of the making of modern (male) political subjectivities which can now be re-read for their insights on the making of modern masculinities. Such works include Earl Kinmonth's (1981) study of the development of the notion of the 'self-made man' in Japanese thought, Kenneth Pyle's (1969) study of debates on nationalism and Andrew Barshay's (1992) study of selected public intellectuals in early twentieth century Japan. Donald Roden (1980; 2005: 61–98) considers masculinities in the élite schooling system. More recently, Jason Karlin (2002; 2014a: 48–67; 2014b) has focused on competing forms of masculinity in the late nineteenth century. Yumiko Mikanagi (2011) takes this discussion into the international sphere, arguing that masculinity is also implicated in the practice of international relations.

In Imperial Japan, men's citizenship was tied to military service, while women were constructed as helpmeets to men, the family and the State. After 1945, democratic reforms meant that individuals were now positioned as citizens rather than subjects. Women gained the right to vote and stand for public office with the revision of the Electoral Law in December 1945, while the Constitution of Japan (enacted 1946, effective 1947) outlawed discrimination on the grounds of race, sex, creed, social status or family origin. While the formal barriers to women's political participation were removed, gender still shaped the public sphere (Mackie 2000a; 2002a). We have some studies of women's political activism in the post-Second World War period, starting with Susan Pharr's (1982) *Political Women in Japan* (see also: Carlberg: 233–55; Hastings 1996: 271–300; 2014: 180–97; Dalton 2008a: 51–65; 2008b; 2015).

Robin le Blanc has completed two book-length studies of parliamentary politics, explicitly focusing on the workings of masculinity and femininity (1999; 2010; see also: 2012: 857–871).

There has been recent interest in the radical leftist activism of the 1960s and 1970s (Steinhoff 1996: 301–24; Igarashi 2000; 2007: 119–137; Marotti 2009: 97–135; Mackie, 2010a; Eckersall 2013). Not all of this work has been informed by a gender analysis, though, and there is ample scope for further work on the gendering of the state and politics (Germer, Mackie and Wöhr 2014). Feminism as a political movement has also received attention in recent scholarship.

The History of Feminism

In late nineteenth century Japan, men and women were positioned as subjects of the Emperor, with a limited suffrage available to a small number of men who paid a certain level of property tax. Women and men were positioned in different ways in the legal system and were addressed in distinctive ways according to nationalist discourse. In other words, subjecthood was gendered. Once there was a consciousness of gendered difference, and a consciousness of the disadvantages suffered by women, this made possible the development of feminist thought. We now have studies of the feminist movement in Japan from the late nineteenth century to the present. A pioneering work was Sharon Sievers' (1983) survey of the first decades of feminist activism in Japan (see also Mackie 1988; 1997; 2003; 2015; Kano 2016; Buckley 1994: 150–186; 1997; Buckley and Mackie 1986: 173–85). Educator Tsuda Umeko has been the subject of several studies (Furuki 1991; Rose 1992; Nimura 2015), and

Anderson and Patessio's above-mentioned books contribute to our understanding of the early development of feminist thought in Japan.

Women active in the socialist movement in the early twentieth century also contributed to an understanding of the 'woman question', although they identified themselves as 'socialist women' rather than feminists. Hélène Bowen Raddeker (1997; 2002) has studied the lives and works of anarchists Kanno Suga (1881–1911), Kaneko Fumiko (1903–26) and Itō Noe (1895–1923) (see also Kaneko 1997; Miyamoto 1975: 190–204; Large 1977: 441–67; Mackie 2013d: 103–14; Mae 2014: 68–84). Mikiso Hane (1993) has translated excerpts of the autobiography of Fukuda [Kageyama] Hideko (1865–1927), whose activism bridges the liberal movement of the late nineteenth century and the early decades of the socialist movement.

Notwithstanding the availability of articles, we await full-length English-language biographies of Fukuda (Ushioda 1977: 9–12; Mackie 1997: 2–12; Loftus 2004), socialist thinker Yamakawa Kikue (1890–1980) (Shapcott 1987: 1–30; Tsurumi 1996; 258–76; 1998; Yamakawa 2001; Mackie 1997: 95–152; 2003), and Communist writer Miyamoto Yuriko (1899–1951) (de Bary 1981: 40–7; 1984–1985: 7–28; Bowen-Struyk 2004: 479–507; Dobson 2016: 486–510). We also have several studies of the Bluestockings group (*Seitōsha*) and their journal *Seitō* (Bluestockings, 1911–16), including biographies of several figures and translations of important works (Lippit 1975: 155–63; Reich and Fukuda 1976: 280–91; Sievers 1983: 45–72; Mackie 2003: 45–72; Tomida 2004; Hiratsuka 2006; Bardsley 2007; Yamazaki 1985). Feminist poet and Bluestocking contributor Yosano Akiko (1878–1942) has received attention for her poetry, journalism, literary writings, travel writings and polemical writings (Rodd 1991: 175–98; Rowley 2000; Yosano 2001; Baichman 2002).

Pioneer campaigner for family planning, Katō [Ishimoto] Shizue (1897–2001), wrote an autobiography in 1935 (republished 1992), and has been the subject of biographical research by Helen Hopper (1995; 2004). Katō's life exemplifies many of the themes of twentieth-century feminism in her internationalism and in her transition from restricted civil society activity in the early decades of the twentieth century to a long career as a parliamentarian in post-1945 Japan.

Parliamentarian Ichikawa Fusae (1893–1981) has also been the subject of several articles and book chapters. Her life spans most of the twentieth century, and includes contributions to the labour movement, pioneering activism in the suffragist movement and, like Katō, a long postwar career as a parliamentarian (Vavich 1967: 402–36; Murray 1975: 171–89; Molony 2005; 2011: 1–27). Figures like Ichikawa present difficult questions related to gender and militarism. In Japanese-language historiography, there is criticism of those feminists who were seen to have collaborated with the wartime regime (Suzuki 1997). This has focused on such women as Ichikawa, other Bluestockings such as Yosano Akiko and Hiratsuka Raichō [Haruko] (1886–1971), and feminist historian Takamure Itsue (1894–1964). This preoccupation has also surfaced in the English-language literature, and the translation of Ueno Chizuko's (2003) book *Gender and Nationalism* makes these debates accessible to an English-language audience. Nevertheless, these debates would benefit from a more thoroughgoing engagement with theories of gender and citizenship and theories of the gendering of the state (Mackie 2002b; 2005b; 2013b; Germer, Mackie and Wöhr 2014: 1–24). These debates are not just about history, but are informed by concerns about the proper relationship between feminist activists and the state in contemporary Japan.

Mire Koikari revisits the history of the Allied Occupation of Japan (1945-52) and situates the strategic alliance between US and Japanese feminists in the context of Cold War politics. It is only relatively recently that scholars have acknowledged the colonial dimension of the Occupation of Japan, and have thus realized that postcolonial theoretical perspectives have much to teach us about the power dynamics of the Occupation. Koikari argues that gender policy in Occupied Japan can not be abstracted from global and regional geopolitical trends. She identifies coalitions of thought where the themes of democratization, liberalization and gender equity were embedded in discourses of US hegemony and anti-communism. Feminists, she argues, were complicit in the establishment of the US-Japan alliance in East Asia, much as many of them had been complicit with Japanese imperialism until 1945. Koikari describes Occupation-period gender policy as ‘Cold War imperial feminism in the Far East’ (Koikari 2008: 5; see also Pharr 1987: 221–52; Gordon 1998; Gerster 2008; Gerster and de Matos 2009; Kovner 2012).

In the immediate postwar period, feminist activism often involved women who took the speaking position of ‘mothers’. From this position, they contributed to campaigns on pacifism, nuclear disarmament, consumer issues and environmental issues (Mackie 2003: 120–36; 2016: 671–95). Ulrike Wöhr, however, complicates our understanding of the gendering of the anti-nuclear movement in several essays. She looks at the participation of both male and female activists and the construction of their gendered forms of citizenship. Wöhr argues that those who oppose nuclear power on the grounds of ‘protecting’ the family are guilty of ethnocentrism and a privileging of the norm of the heterosexual nuclear family. She argues for a recognition of diversity in the anti-nuclear movement and in Japanese society itself (Wöhr 2011: 80–94; 2013: 203–33; 2014a: 230–54; 2014b). This has pressing contemporary relevance in the

context of the ongoing political contestation in Japan after the compound earthquake, tsunami and nuclear disaster of 11 March 2011.

Julia Bullock (2010) identifies an incipient feminism in literature by women in the 1950s and 1960s, a precursor of the women's liberation movement of the 1970s. In Japan, as in the other advanced capitalist democracies, the 1960s and 1970s were the decades of new left and student activism, while the 1970s was the decade of women's liberation (Tanaka. K. 1974; 1995: 343–52; Tanaka, Y. 1995: 141–54; Mackie 2003: 144–73; Shigematsu 2012; Iijima 2014: 291–306; Bullock et al. 2017). Tokyo-based Femintern press translated English and Chinese works into Japanese and translated Japanese works into English in the interests of promoting international feminist dialogue (Mackie 2003:). The 1970s also saw the development of a more reformist strand of feminism, with activists in Japan making astute use of local and international networks in campaigns for the ratification of the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and the creation of an Equal Employment Opportunity Law (Mackie 2003: 174–201; Flowers 2009: 69–112). Several collections of translations in the 1990s made the thought of these feminist thinkers and activists available to English readers (AMPO: Japan-Asia Quarterly Review 1996; Buckley 1997).

Miriam Murase looks at the women's centres which were established in Japan in the wake of International Women's Year and International Women's Decade, policy initiatives connected with the creation of the Office for Gender Equity, and policies concerning the regulation of Non-Profit Organizations (NPOs). Like several other scholars, Murase argues that, through the regulation of NPOs, the government is engaged in shaping civil society in Japan, and that this has implications for the

possibility of feminist organizations influencing government policy. Murase's study is informed by political science, and she focuses mainly on state-recognized women's groups (Murase 2006; see also Takao 2007: 147–72; Chan Tiberghien 2004). Laura Dales (2009) deploys a combination of participant observation, ethnography and textual analysis in her account of activism focused on women's centres.

Yoshie Kobayashi traces the development of gender policy in Japan, from the establishment of a Women's and Minors' Bureau within the Ministry of Labour in 1947, to the enactment of an Equal Employment Opportunity Act in 1986 (and subsequent revisions), and the creation of the Basic Law for a Gender Equal Society and the Office for Gender Equality in the 1990s (Kobayashi 2004; see also Gelb 2003). Kobayashi deploys the concept of 'state feminism' to describe the relationship between feminists and the bureaucracy. While the concept of 'state feminism' is becoming increasingly influential in the description of the development of gender-sensitive policy in Japan, this concept sacrifices analytical clarity in collapsing the two terms 'state' and 'feminism'. The state is a complex entity riven by contradictions, while feminism is a diverse coalition of movements rather than a unitary entity (Mackie 2013b).

The Japanese government's gender-sensitive policies were the subject of contention between conservative nationalist groups and feminist groups from the 1990s to the turn of the twenty-first century. These campaigns have come to be known as 'gender-bashing', or 'gender-free-bashing' (Kano 2011: 41–62; Yamaguchi 2014: 541–72). Strangely enough, it is the former leader of these 'gender-bashing' campaigns, Abe Shinzō, who has recently chosen to identify himself with 'womenomics' and the

promotion of women's paid work during his second stint as Prime Minister (Kano and Mackie 2013; Macnaughtan 2015).

A further transformation of modernity is the shift from production based on the feudal household to a system of waged labour. The development of waged labour is accompanied by segmentation of the labour market according to class, caste, gender and ethnicity and the development of a gendered division of labour which distinguishes between unpaid domestic and caring labour and paid labour.

Gendering Labour History

In Japan, as in other industrializing countries, the textile industry was an early means of capital accumulation, which led to the development of a highly feminized form of factory labour. E. Patricia Tsurumi (1990) traces the earliest history of the female textile workers, arguing that the forms of labour management which developed in the textile factories were forged in the struggles between management and labour. Janet Hunter (2003) brings the perspective of an economic historian to this history. Elyssa Faison considers the interplay of gender, class and ethnicity in the management of textile workers, paying attention to Japanese, immigrant Korean and Okinawan workers. Faison argues that ideologies of nationalism and ethnicity 'were used by industry and the state to discipline and control both a labor force *and* state subjects; in other words, creating workers went hand in hand with creating gendered imperial subjects' (Faison 2007: 1). Helen Macnaughtan follows the textile workers through the post-1945 period, once again with the viewpoint of an economic historian (2008). We also have a small number of works on women in the mining industry (Sone 2006a: 153–80; 2006b: 51–72; 2007: 207–22; Smith 2005: 393–442; 2006: 111–30),

and on rural women (Tamanoi 1998; Bernstein 1976: 25–50; 1983; Smith and Wiswell 1982).

Andrew Gordon's (1985) early focus was on unions and heavy industry in Japan, and thus has implications for the consideration of masculinity and work. His second book (1992) on unions in a working-class area of Tokyo, necessarily engaged with gender in considering how male-dominated unions dealt with the women in textile factories, who were a major component of the industrial workforce for much of the period of the development of Japan's industrialization.

In the early twentieth century various gendered occupations were associated with the cultural phenomenon of the 'modern girl', to be discussed further below. These are the dance hall girl (Mackie 2012: 80–97; 2013e: 67–82), the actress (Kano 2001), the female bus conductor, the artist's model (Mackie 2009b) and the café waitress (*jokyū*). Aside from the media panics about modern girls, we need to think about the actual working conditions of women in gendered and often sexualized service industries.

Alisa Freedman considers the cultural significance of mass transport in the formation of modern urban subjectivities. She analyses the gendered spaces of the streetcar, the subway carriage and the bus. One chapter of her monograph, *Tokyo in Transit*, is devoted to the development of the occupation of female bus conductor, or 'bus girl' in early twentieth century Japan. Almost from the beginning, this was an occupation which was gendered as female (in contrast to some other countries) (Freedman 2010: 173–224). Once air travel developed, there was a similar gendering of the occupation of flight attendant (Yano 2010).

Others remind us that waitressing was hard work, often poorly remunerated, and subject to particular hazards such as sexual harassment and outright sexual exploitation (Silverberg 1988, 239–66; Tipton 2002; Inoue 1998: 78–106). Whether or not the café waitresses literally provided sexual service, there was undoubtedly a sexual element to their provision of food, drink and companionship.

The bar hostess, who can perhaps be seen as the postwar equivalent of the café waitress, has been the focus of several studies. Anne Allison's pathbreaking (1994) study of hostess bars in late twentieth century Japan is as much about the masculinity of the male customers as it is about the hostesses themselves (see also Jackson 1976: 133–56; Mock: 177–91). We also have studies of various queer forms of commodified companionship in the sexualized service industries, such as male 'hosts' who look after female clients, or cross-dressing 'hosts' and 'hostesses' (Takeyama 200–15). This is an industry which is segmented according to ethnicity and gender, and there are studies of hostesses in so-called 'Korean' and 'Filipino' bars (Chung 2002: 41–58; Parreñas 2011).

We have several studies of the *geisha* (Seigle 1983; Dalby 1983; Masuda 2003; Foreman 2008), but rarely situated in labour history. Prostitution was dealt with in different ways under the licensed prostitution regime of Imperial Japan and the superficially abolitionist regime after the enactment of the Prostitution Prevention Law (enacted 1956; effective 1958), and there is much more scope for social histories of the workers in these industries, not to mention their clients (Garon 1993b: 710–32, Mackie 2009b: 256–91; Kovner 2012; Rowley 2002: 39–56). The *karayuki-san* – women from Japan who worked in brothels in Southeast Asia, and as far afield as Australia, the West Coast of the US and Madagascar – have been the subject of

several academic and popular studies (Sissons 1977; Yamazaki 1999; Mihalopoulos 1993, 41–56; 2011; Warren 2003).

Christopher Gerteis (2010) considers how trade unions dealt with women workers in the early postwar period. Wartime restrictions on union activities were removed in the Occupation period. Unions and union federations, however, still tended to treat women as a special category, whose needs could be dealt with in separate women's divisions. Gerteis argues that the male-dominated union federations were complicit in the construction of the high economic growth paradigm of the mid-to-late twentieth century. This paradigm was based on the model of the heteronormative nuclear family with a full-time male breadwinner supported by a housewife who would retire from full-time work on the birth of children. State, employers and unions were complicit in this privileging of the needs of full-time male workers, and these processes constructed particular forms of masculinity. This was at the expense of campaigns which might have attempted to realize the promise of the egalitarianism of the Constitution and Civil Code of the early postwar years.

Dorinne Kondo (1990) focuses on women in small-scale factories in a working-class area of Tokyo; Glenda Roberts (1994) writes about women working on a factory assembly line; Alice Lam considers women in management (1992); Yuko Ogasawara (1998) places female clerical workers in the context of the gendered dynamics of the office; and Kaye Broadbent has studied part-time supermarket workers (2003). The many studies of so-called 'housewives' could also potentially be seen as being about forms of women's work (Imamura 1987; Holloway 2010; Martin 2007; Faier 2009), although such unpaid work has generally been outside the purview of labour history. Although some of these works were originally contemporary ethnographies, they are

now of historical interest in mapping the changes in gendered patterns of paid and unpaid work in the latter decades of the twentieth century.

Many of the early works on modern Japanese labour history were about male workers (Dore 1973; Kamata 1983), but were completed before the development of masculinity studies (Roberson and Suzuki 2002; Louie and Low 2003). Nevertheless, these works can now be re-read with a gender lens. We are also starting to see newer studies of masculinity at work. David Slater (2010) and James E. Roberson (2002: 126–43) have each looked at working-class masculinities. Romit Dasgupta has a series of articles on the middle-class white-collar worker – the *sarariiman* (Dasgupta 2000; 189–200; 2002; 2005: 168–82; 2009: 79–95; 2010; 2014: 255–72). There are also some studies of diasporic workers which are informed by the standpoint of gender theory (Sedgwick 2008; Fujita 2009; Kawashima 2010).

The study of labour history moves into the field of political history when it is linked with the development of labour unions and the development of labour-oriented political parties. The question of labour activism returns us to the discussion of the gendering of the public sphere as outlined above. When we consider the cultural constructions of work which are revealed in the gendering of particular occupations, then that takes us into the realm of cultural politics.

Gender and the Cultural Politics of Modernity

As modernity involved the development of gendered identities, this also involved a pedagogical view of desirable and undesirable forms of femininity and masculinity, often expressed through popular cultural representations. Christine Murrin considers

the category of 'poison woman' (*dokufu*), a phrase used to label transgressive women from the late nineteenth century to the early post-Second World War period.

Stories about [the poison woman] promoted normalizing visions of sexuality and gender that conformed to the promises of modernity, though the stories implicitly articulated the failure of those promises to include women....

Sexuality was an essential part of the representation of this struggle – sexuality and sexual desire came to suggestively symbolize the struggle to define women's place in society (Marran 2007: 171).

While Marran is largely interested in women who committed crimes, her insights about the constructions of desirable and undesirable models of femininity can be applied to much of early twentieth century cultural history.

The new woman is a theme of several recent works. Dina Lowy (2007) traces the emergence of the figure of the new woman in Japan, beginning with the staging of such plays as Henrik Ibsen's *A Doll's House*, Hermann Sudermann's *Magda*, and the debates they stimulated in the 1910s. The label 'new woman' (*atarashii onna*) became associated with the women associated with the feminist literary journal *Seitō* (Bluestockings). These women were the subject of media attention for their unconventional behaviour, which included drinking exotic liqueurs, sightseeing in the licensed prostitution district, scandalous love affairs and the espousal of feminist ideas. The term 'new woman', however, was transformed from a stigmatizing label to a proclamation of independence through *Bluestockings* editor Hiratsuka Raichō's defiant manifesto 'I am a new woman' (Hiratsuka 2006; Bardsley 2007). Lowy also includes examination of leftist feminist Nichikawa Fumiko's (1882–1960) 'True New Women's Society' (see Mackie 1997: 52, 84–5), and places Japan's new women in

the context of similar figures in other national and transnational contexts (Heilman and Beetham 2004).

Barbara Sato (2003; 2008: 240–62) identifies three gendered figures as being important for the analysis of modernity in Japan: the new woman (*atarashii onna*), the housewife (*shufu*) and the working woman (*shokugyō fujin*). Sato uses readers' correspondence in women's magazines as a way of tracing changes in women's subjectivity in early twentieth century Japan. She focuses on the rise of consumerism and the development of the discourse of self-cultivation among readers of the magazines. Sarah Frederick has also used magazines as a source for understanding gender relations in early twentieth century Japan. She focuses on mainstream magazines like *Shufu no tomo* (The Housewife's Friend), more intellectual journals like *Fujin kōron* (The Women's Review) and some publications which addressed a feminist readership, such as the feminist arts journal *Nyonin geijutsu* (Women's Arts) (Frederick 2006; see also Wöhr et al. 2000: 101–30). Michiko Suzuki analyses women's fictional narratives from the 1910s to the 1930s. Her selected writers are characterized as 'modern women', and she argues that 'notions of modernity and progress were ... embedded in discussions of love, literary and otherwise' (Suzuki 2009: 3).

A related figure is the abovementioned modern girl (*modan gāru*, or *moga*) (Sato 1993: 363–81; Silverberg 239–66). While the 'new woman' is a figure of the 1910s, with something of a feminist tone, the 'modern girl' of the mid-1920s is associated with consumerism rather than feminism. Miriam Silverberg (2006) analyses the figures of the modern girl, the café waitress and the modern housewife in the media, particularly in movie magazines and women's magazines. Silverberg is largely

concerned with the culture of the metropolis – in the twin senses of the metropolis as mega-city, and the metropolis as an imperial centre, distinguished from peripheral, colonial, and semi-colonial spaces. Her analysis of metropolitan culture always has the mechanisms of imperialism and colonialism firmly in view.

I call the men, women and children of these Japanese modern years of the 1920s and 1930s consumer-subjects in order to express the double-edged nature of Japanese mass culture during that era. The consumer was both a subject of the emperor and a subject with agency, acting as autonomously as the imperial system would allow. Japanese women and men were both privy to a network of pleasures offered within mass culture and subject to an increasingly tight web of state controls on freedom of expression and consumption. And when considering them as imperial subjects, we must also recognize that not only was the imperial reign said to span countless generations, it also covered the contemporaneous geographic terrain of empire (Silverberg 2006: 4).

The partner of the modern girl was the modern boy. It is the modern girl, though, who has received the most sustained attention in Japanese language and English language scholarship. Most simply refer to the composite phrase '*moga mobo*' (modern girls and modern boys), without analysing the modern boy from the point of view of gender, a project which would add to our understanding of the making of masculinities in early twentieth century Japan (Menzies 1998; see also Driscoll 2010: 143–48; Omori 2009: 261–93). Nevertheless, the popular discourse on the 'modern girl' in the 1920s and 1930s was also implicated in the discursive construction of masculinity. In their discourse on the 'modern girl', the men of the metropolis

constructed themselves as the possessors of a powerful gaze which created a taxonomy of different types of women (Mackie 2009b).

The modern boy and modern girl can also be placed in the context of the cultural forms of modernism. There has been a burgeoning international interest in modernist architecture, fashion, literature and visual culture, as evidenced by several recent touring exhibitions (Tokyo-to Bijutsukan 1988; Menzies 1998; Price and O'Connor 2001; Benton et al. 2003). The media fascination with the modern girl and modern boy in Japan roughly coincides with the period after the Great Kantō Earthquake of 1923, precisely the period of the adoption of modernist cultural forms, art nouveau and art deco. There is ample scope for further work on the gendering of modernist cultures in Japan (Tipton and Clark 2000; Mackie 2010a: 996–1011).

The figure of the *shōjo* (girl) and the culture of girls (*shōjo bunka*) is a theme which spans the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Girls' culture appears in fiction, cinema, *manga* (comics) *anime* (animated movies), *kosu pure* (costume playing, cosplay) and fashion (Aoyama and Hartley 2010; Shamoon 2012). From the late twentieth century, the figure of the *otaku* (which might be translated as 'nerd', although the term *otaku* now has currency in English) has been the focus of attention (Azuma 2009; Galbraith 2015: 215–7). Gendered representations in popular television dramas have also received attention (Lukács 2010; Freedman and Iwata-Weickgennant 2011: 295–313; Mackie 2014b: 441–461), and we are increasingly seeing representations of non-binary gender identities in the mass media (Mackie 2008; Mackie 2010c: 111–28; Yuen 2011: 383–400). While the producers and marketers of mass media tend to assume a clearly gendered readership and

spectatorship of cultural forms, fans are adept in queering these genres through gender-bending parodies (McLelland *et al.* 2015).

Histories of Sexuality in Japan

We are starting to see works on ‘mainstream’ and alternative sexualities in Japan. Greg Pflugfelder traces male same-sex love from the 1600s to 1945, while Mark McLelland takes this history up to the present (Pflugfelder 1999; McLelland 2000; 2005; 2015). Sharon Chalmers (2002) has completed one of the few English-language studies of lesbian sexuality in contemporary Japan. Pflugfelder (2005: 133–90), Shamoon (2012) and Robertson (1998) focus on passionate friendships between women in early twentieth century Japan. We await a full history of female same-sex love. Indeed, we await a comprehensive history of sexuality in Japan (on contemporary Japan, see Lunsing 2001; McLelland and Dasgupta 2005; McLelland, Sukanuma and Welker 2007; on the state management of sexuality in the early twentieth century, see Frühstück 2003).

Only a few works treat heterosexuality as something which needs to be historicized rather than taken for granted. The discourse of romantic love and companionate marriage was developed in Japan in the late nineteenth century (Mackie 1997: ; 2003: 28–36; 48–55). The discussion of the 1920s ‘modern girl’, too, often revolved around discourses of romantic love (Suzuki 2009; and see above). Mark McLelland (2012) looks at the development of discourses of heterosexual romance in the immediate postwar period, while Romit Dasgupta (2010) considers the initiation of male white-collar workers into discourses of heterosexual love. Recent work has focused on panics around low birthrates and low marriage rates and media flurries about so-

called ‘herbivore’ men (*sōshoku danshi*) who reject conventional forms of masculinity (Steger and Koch 2013).

The History of the Body in Japan

The body is implicated in the performance of masculinity and femininity, whether this be through voice and deportment, adornment, ways of managing hair and body hair, or clothing. One way of writing the history of the body would be to trace how these embodied performances of masculinity and femininity change across time (Monden 2014). Embodiment, however, involves much more than gender.

Class distinction often involves these different forms of deportment and dress (Dasgupta 2010). The body is also implicated in distinctions between working class and middle class occupations, with working class occupations having a more explicitly embodied dimension (‘manual’ versus ‘mental’ work). In colonial situations and in situations involving immigrant labour these distinctions are racialized and ethnicized (Mackie 2013f).

Governments manage bodies in various ways. They regulate reproduction and access to contraception and abortion; they regulate sexuality and gender identity; and they regulate working conditions. Recent government campaigns around ‘cool biz’ and ‘warm biz’, which incorporate modifications of office wear to be more suitable for hot and cold climatic conditions have been aimed at reducing the use of air-conditioning and heating for environmental reasons. These campaigns are also, however, about managing bodies. Governments provide welfare for those with

physical impairments or disabilities (Stevens 2013), including those whose impairment comes from military service (Pennington 2015).

The body is also implicated in various forms of violence. The state has the monopoly of particular forms of violence through the policing system, the judiciary which implements various form of punishment including hard labour and the death penalty, and the armed forces – the Army and Navy in Imperial Japan and the Self Defence Forces from the mid-twentieth century. Interpersonal violence, including, but not limited to, domestic violence, is mediated through gendered, classed and ethnicized power differentials.

The conscription system of Imperial Japan disciplined male bodies in particular ways, as did the new regimes of industrial labour in the factories, as discussed above. Even occupations designated as ‘mental’ labour have particular effects on bodies – not least the phenomenon of *karōshi* (or ‘death from overwork’). New forms of precarious labour are associated with new forms of subjectivity and often the (self-)disciplining of bodies.

Gender, Sexuality and Bodies beyond Borders

We now have a substantial body of work on modern Japanese history which takes gender seriously. For some authors, ‘modern’ simply means the period from the late nineteenth century to the present; but a smaller number of authors are attempting to come to grips with modernity itself as involving gendered, sexed and embodied processes. This involves bringing together the concepts of ‘gender’ and ‘colonial

modernity', and extending the focus beyond the boundaries of the Japanese nation-state.

Mark Driscoll, for example, builds on some of the themes introduced in Miriam Silverberg's work on modernist cultures in the metropolis, but gives equal attention to events in the peripheral puppet state of Manchukuo. He traces three stages of Japanese capitalism and imperialism, which he calls 'biopolitics', 'neuropolitics' and 'necropolitics'. Biopolitics (in Foucauldian terms) is concerned with the management of the population and labour power. Neuropolitics is concerned with the commodification of new forms of sensory pleasure (not to mention the sensationalism of the culture of what was known as 'erotic, grotesque nonsense' [*ero guro nansensu*]). Necropolitics refers to the use of enforced labour, men and women who were kept in a state of bare life: enforced sexual slavery in the case of colonized women, enforced labour in mines and construction in the case of colonized men (see Foucault 1980: 138–45; Agamben 1998: 71–118; Mbembe 2003: 11–40). Driscoll (2010: 143–48) examines sensational literary forms which place the 'modern girl' and 'modern boy' in violent and sexually explicit contexts, and links these literary representations with the actual violence of capitalism, colonialism and imperialism in the peripheries.

The modern girl has been placed in transnational context by a group of researchers based at the University of Washington. Their edited volume, *The Modern Girl around the World*, includes two chapters on Japan and an epilogue by Miriam Silverberg. In this volume, Barbara Sato further develops her arguments about the importance of women's magazines for understanding women's modern subjectivities. Ruri Itō focuses on Okinawa, where the modern girl was little more than a phantasm. Itō

places the women of Okinawa in circuits of mobility which included the metropolis of Tokyo, regional urban centres, and colonies like Taiwan and Korea (Sato 2008: 240–62; Itō 2008: 263–87; Silverberg 2008: 354–61; Matsuda 2006). Other chapters in *The Modern Girl around the World* focus on the figure of the modern girl in North America, Europe, Africa, Australia and other parts of Asia. A recent Japanese-language volume includes studies of the modern girl in several East Asian countries, organized around the themes of gender, empire and colonial modernity (Itō *et al.* 2008).

It is difficult to know where to place the body of work on the system of wartime enforced military prostitution (also known as military sexual slavery). Many commentators would strenuously resist describing this as *work*, for this might suggest some voluntarism on the part of the women imprisoned and enslaved in these institutions. This is an issue which brings together the themes of militarism, imperialism, colonialism, nationalism, class, gender, sexuality, masculinity and femininity and the history of the body. Debates around this issue touch on important questions of historical evidence, as historians debate the relative weight to be given to oral testimonies and written evidence. This issue also has a place in the history of feminism, for much of the research around this issue has been conducted by feminist researchers in activist networks. The history of enforced military prostitution/military sexual slavery cannot be contained within nation-based historical narratives, for it necessarily involves individuals and experiences which cross national boundaries (see Yamazaki 1996: 90–100; Kim 1996: 157–60; O’Herne 1994; Henson 1996; Howard 1995; Kim–Gibson 1999; Schellstede 2000; Yoshimi 1992; 1995; 2000; Tanaka 2002; Mackie 2000b; 2013a: 62–91; in press).

A full history of the wartime enforced prostitution/military sexual slavery system would necessitate skills in Japanese, Chinese, Korean, English and several other Asian and Pacific languages. A similar team-based approach could be applied to developing a gendered history of migratory flows in and out of Japan in its modern history. A likely direction for future studies of genders, sexualities, bodies and modernity is thus to place Japan in a transnational framework, not simply in terms of comparison, but in terms of Japan's place in the flows of commodities, people and cultural forms in modern East Asia and beyond.

Further Reading:

Germer, A., Mackie, V. and Wöhr, U. (eds) (2014) *Gender, Nation and State in Modern Japan*, Oxford: Routledge.

Mackie, V. (2003) *Feminism in Modern Japan: Citizenship, Embodiment and Sexuality*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

McLelland, M. and R. Dasgupta (2005) (eds) *Genders, Transgenders and Sexualities in Japan*. Oxford: Routledge.

McLelland, M. and V. Mackie (eds) (2015) *The Routledge Handbook of Sexuality Studies in East Asia*, Oxford: Routledge.

Molony, B. and K. Uno (eds) (2005) *Gendering Modern Japanese History*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard East Asia Center.